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and Ashur, respectively. The independent existence of two heads in the combined pantheon was sufficient to prevent the infusion of an ethical spirit into this monotheistic tendency ; and unless a monotheistic conception of the universe is interpreted in an ethical sense, monotheism (or monolatry) has no great superiority, either religiously or philosophically, over polytheism." In the same chapter he points out the influence of Babylonian religion upon both Judaism and Christianity. In regard to the former he maintains that while the "stimulus to religious advance came to the Hebrews from the ancient centres of thought and worship in the Euphrates valley," on the other hand "degrading tendencies, too, found an entrance into post-exilic Judaism through Babylonian influence. Close contact of Jews with Babylonians served to make the former more accessible to the popular beliefs in incantations and the power of demons than they would otherwise have been." Christianity was directly affected by Babylonian influences, as well as indirectly, through Judaism, and the direct influences which came to Christianity from the Babylonian religion were all bad, inasmuch as they came from the period of its decay. Gnosticism Professor Jastrow regards as a survival of the religion of Babylonia under the mask of Christianity.

Professor Jastrow is conservative not only with regard to the very ancient dates now assigned to Babylonian antiquity, but also with regard to the influence of the Babylonian religion and culture upon China and Egypt, which are so positively asserted in some quarters. On the other hand, while thus wisely cautious, he does not fail to make clear the great debt which the world of thought owes to Babylonian culture, as well in the field of religion as in that of art and science.

As this is a handbook for study, the author has provided a very thorough bibliography of his subject, covering over thirty pages, and divided for greater convenience of use under some nine different subtitles. The index covers more than forty pages, but even then it is not complete, as we have found in our endeavor to look up certain things.

Space does not permit the criticism in detail of the passages which we had marked for that purpose. In a few places we noted curious little errors, which may possibly be due to faulty proof-reading, like the half-consistent substitution of "capitol" for "capital" in a number of chapters. But these are small matters. The book is a valuable contribution to the comparative study of religions.

JOHN P. PETERS.

Jewish Religious Life after the Exile. By the Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, Canon of Rochester. [American Lectures on the History of Religions, Third Series, 1897-1898.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898. Pp. xxii, 270.)

THE literature of the Jews in the Persian and Greek periods has long been with Professor Cheyne a subject of special study, the fruits of which

are embodied in a series of volumes on Isaiah, the Psalms, and the Wisdom Books, and in numerous articles in current periodicals. These lectures are thus "a provisional summing up of a series of special researches" (p. xxi), and as such, although primarily addressed to a popular audience, claim the attention of historical students.

The first two lectures are devoted to the history of the restoration. On the questions which have been so much discussed since Kusters challenged the generally accepted views, Professor Cheyne's opinion is briefly this: No great number of Jews returned from Babylonia to Palestine in the reign of Cyrus; those who did so went in the suite of Sheshbazzar, a prince of the house of David whom Cyrus appointed governor of Judea; among them were Sheshbazzar's nephew Zerubbabel, and Joshua, "who became the first high priest in the post-exilic sense;" the character of the community in Judea was not affected by their coming. It was not until Nehemiah, in the reign of Artaxerxes (Longimanus?) had restored the fortifications of Jerusalem that radical reforms were possible. The work of reform begun by Nehemiah was carried on by Ezra, who, with a company of men of kindred spirit, came up from Babylonia for that purpose. Ezra organized the Jewish church by a solemn covenant upon the basis of a new law-book which he brought with him and of which he was the author. The counterpart of his work was the founding of a rival Samaritan church by Manasseh, the banished grandson of the high priest Eliashib.

The following lectures are on Jewish Religious Ideals (the Messianic hope; inner conflicts), Jewish Wisdom (Proverbs, Job), Orthodox and Heretical Wisdom, and Contemporary Levitical Piety (Ecclesiastes, Sirach); the last lecture touches on the attitude of Judaism to foreigners, the rise of the beliefs in immortality and resurrection, the influence of Babylonian, Persian and Greek ideas.

The sources for the history of the restoration are very meagre. For the condition of affairs in Judea between 520 and 516, and the building of the temple, we have the testimony of the contemporary prophets Haggai and Zechariah. The remains of the Memoirs of Nehemiah, besides acquainting us with a man of strong character, give us a glimpse of the state of things in the next century—if his Artaxerxes be Longimanus and not Mnemon. For the rest, we have a few documents whose genuineness is vigorously impugned, and an account of the work of Ezra, chiefly from the hand of a late and untrustworthy writer (the Chronicler). In the latter, Professor Cheyne sets aside Ezra ix. and Neh. viii. as entirely unhistorical, but thinks that the substantial truth of Neh. ix. may still be admitted, though the background of the narrative is false.

This scanty material is supplemented by numerous passages in the poets and the prophetic writings—especially the latter part of the Book of Isaiah—in which Professor Cheyne finds allusions to the events or situations of the period. There is large room here for that "imaginative criticism" which he describes as an intuitive perception of what must have been, and against the depreciation of which he protests (p. 4).

Speaking of the work of Ezra he writes, "If the traditional picture of his activity is not fully historical, it devolves upon us to fill up the deficiencies of the narrative by reasonable conjecture" (p. 69). This describes very well what the author has attempted in his sketch of the work of Ezra and his Samaritan double, Manasseh; he has endeavored to supply the lack of sufficient and trustworthy historical sources by an ingenious conjectural reconstruction. Nor is it only in the absence of sources that he employs this method. In the description of the conduct of Sanballat he discredits the explicit testimony of Nehemiah as warped by prejudice and excessive suspicion; Sanballat planned no treachery, he was sincerely desirous of making a compromise, and was driven into hostility only by the obstinate refusal of Nehemiah to treat with him (p. 48 f.). Such a thing is conceivable enough; but that a theory is conceivable, or even plausible, does not justify the substitution of it for the testimony of a competent and generally credible witness, unless that testimony can be impeached on other grounds. The text is treated with the same license. In two places in Ezekiel the name of Daniel occurs (xiv. 14, xxviii. 3); though all extant witnesses support the text, Professor Cheyne says that "any one can see" that it must be wrong, and substitutes Enoch in both places.

The last four lectures treat of several aspects of religious thought in post-exilic times; though the two on Jewish Wisdom really deal rather with the literary products of the movement. In this part of the book the author is going over subjects on which he has written more fully elsewhere. It is interesting to note his change of view in regard to some of them. Ecclesiastes is now put (with Graetz) in the time of Herod, a date which formerly seemed to Cheyne to be "absolutely excluded" (*Job and Solomon*, 1887, p. 271). In the *Bampton Lectures* (1891) he found intimations of the belief in immortality in a series of Psalms (xvi., xvii., xlix., lxxiii.); he now thinks that "a strict textual criticism" compels us to abandon this theory. I must confess that I was not convinced by the former argument; but of the validity of the veto of text-criticism I am as little convinced.

The picture of the religious life of the Jews given in these lectures is far from complete. A very disproportionate space is given to the ethical and philosophical side, while others of equal or greater importance, such as the continued development of the law, and the process by which, in the course of these centuries, the Jews were converted into the people of the law, are not touched upon; an institution of as great moment as the Synagogue receives no mention. The crisis which contact with Greek civilization brought is only incidentally referred to.

One or two minor points may be noted. On page 204 n.†, as evidence that Ben Sira was a Sadducee, it is remarked that "the Books of the Sadducees and the Book of Ben Sira are placed side by side on the old Jewish Index Expurgatorius. See *Sanhedrin*, 100 b." "Sadducees" in this passage is a change made by the censorship; the original reading was *minim*, "sectaries," i. e., Jewish Christians; the oldest form of this

"Index" expressly names the Gospels. On page 201 n.* "bedchamber" is a slip of the pen for "couch."

GEORGE F. MOORE.

Ave Roma Immortalis. Studies from the Chronicles of Rome. By FRANCIS MARION CRAWFORD. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1898. Two vols., pp. x, 332; ix, 344.)

DURING this generation we have become so accustomed to the prevalence of the artistic and archaeological elements, in new books on Rome, that *Ave Roma* comes with the advantage of novelty in its unexpected treatment of a well-worn subject. At the same time a great deal will be required of the author because of his long residence in Rome, his well-known familiarity with the theme, and his reputation as a writer. In its general elements, Mr. Crawford has produced the kind of book to be expected of a writer of fiction, who seeks for characteristic facts and settings, delves into the past as well as the present to find them, and when found proceeds, in order to compose his picture, to strengthen their tragic outlines or to invest them with the rich colors of a poetic fancy. Accustomed to gather material for his fiction among the very kinds of people he paints for us in this book, his aim is to portray the life of Rome at its great periods, both in its general phases and its special dramatic incidents. He would not care—even were he able—to cast his stray anecdotes and disjointed essays into a connected whole; that would be the work of a scholar, whereas his aim must surely have been to write a readable popular book, without pretense of making it systematic or learned.

The arrangement, though it may at first seem peculiar, is really necessitated by these characteristics. It commences with some introductory essays of historico-pictorial content. "The Making of the City" (I.) sketches somewhat dreamily the legends and primitive life, though without reference to Latins or Sabines, tribes or form of government, and then refers to the establishment of the republic and the wars with Pyrrhus and Carthage. Under "The Empire" (II.), after some preliminary character-sketching of the Gracchi, Marius and Sylla, there follows a detailed eulogy of Julius Caesar as the greatest man that ever lived, and a somewhat frigid estimate of Augustus. Then the entire imperial period is dismissed with the summary explanation that it was created and directed by the army and undermined by Christianity and the barbarians. "The Rome of Augustus" (III.) is a chapter from which we expect great things until we find that it consists of an essay on Horace and his famous walk with a bore. Even that disappointment hardly prepares us for the absence of the medieval in the following chapter (IV.), entitled the "Middle Age," largely devoted to a discussion of the tyrannical power of the father in the ancient Roman family.

Whereupon the author, imagining that the historical antecedents are presented and the ground satisfactorily cleared, introduces the main body